

# Peace News

No. 1,094 June 14, 1957 4d. US Air Express Edition 10 cents

## THE H-TEST CAMPAIGN

See page 2 for H-protest round-up

## We must be firm with Sir Roy By FENNER BROCKWAY, MP

THE big clash in the British colonial territories will almost certainly come in East and Central Africa. Here the conflict of interests is not so much between London and Africa as between the European and African peoples in the territories.

In the Central African Federation the European minority (1 in 25 of the population), who dominate the Legislature by 25 Europeans to six Africans, is demanding early "self-government." Sir Roy Welensky, the Prime Minister, says that it is humiliating to see Ghana, Nigeria and Malaya going

ahead of the Federation in the march of independence. The short answer to Sir Roy is this:

**We should welcome the independence of Central Africa on the same democratic basis as Ghana enjoys, as Malaya will obtain in August, and as Nigeria is claiming.**

Ghana has adult suffrage. Malaya is to have adult suffrage. The progressive elements in Nigeria are demanding adult suffrage at the Conference now meeting in London. Will the Prime Minister of Central Africa accept adult suffrage, which is the only basis of real democracy?

Not on your life (if I may use an expressive Americanism)! After his recent discussions in London with Mr. Lennox-Boyd, the Colonial Secretary, Sir Roy made this statement:

"One thing is certain. The dogma of one man one vote cannot play in our part of Africa in the foreseeable future. Any pretence that it could be only mischievous and dangerous."

At any rate, we know where we stand with Central Africa's Premier. Sir Roy Welensky should also know where the Labour Party stands. We are pledged to

# AS MANCHESTER GUARDIAN AND CATHOLIC HERALD JOIN DEBATE ON UNARMED DEFENCE INQUIRY— MPs AWAIT ANSWER FROM DUNCAN SANDYS

TWO Members of Parliament are waiting for Mr. Duncan Sandys, Minister of Defence, to comment on Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall's call for serious consideration of non-violent resistance as a national defence policy.

It was Mr. Sandys who in the Defence debate, on April 16 admitted that "in present circumstances, it is impossible effectively to defend this country against an attack with hydrogen bombs."

Last week, Frank Allaun, MP, and Reg. Moss, MP sent him a copy of Commander King-Hall's "Reflections on Defence".

It is expected that the Defence Minister will face careful cross-examination in the House of Commons after it reassembles on June 25, should he not agree to give serious thought to this proposal.

**The Manchester Guardian joined this week the call for serious consideration of non-violent resistance as a possible national defence policy in place of nuclear weapons.**

The Catholic Herald has called on Britain to help create "a moral third power," renouncing nuclear weapons and depending, if necessary, on non-violent and civilian resistance.

### CHEAP PRECAUTION

The Nation, prominent US liberal weekly magazine, is reported to be re-printing the full text of Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall's "Reflections on Defence."

In a lengthy editorial on June 11, the Manchester Guardian declared:

**"Even for those who are less gloomy than Sir Stephen about the effectiveness of the deterrent in the next few years, the proposal seems worth support."**

consider whether it could be so persuasive [as the hydrogen bomb and nuclear missile]—and, if not, whether people in Britain are ready for the suffering which a struggle with the apparatus of a police State would bring.

The Catholic Herald on June 7 in its editorial entitled "A Moral Third Power" declared that this is a period "of the utmost moral difficulty and perplexity."

**"One senses that for the first time it is dawning on people generally that the race in nuclear weapons and the production of atomic guided missiles (with the 'merchants of death' trade between nations to which it has given rise) is not only morally horrible, but idiotic and suicidal."**

Although deliberate resort to nuclear war is not likely at present, "we cannot risk delay for a political crisis of the first magnitude could blaze up at any moment," the Catholic Herald stated.

Britain's entrance into the nuclear bomb race "deprives this country of the opportunity of making the kind of gesture needed if the nuclear race is to be stopped and disarmament begun in earnest."

Seeking an alternative, the editorial asked: "Can we not conceive a Power, genuinely 'great,' not because it possesses a tremendous armoury of nuclear, atomic and conventional weapons, but because it is determined to display a moral influence commensurate with the peoples, traditions, experience, values which it may represent?"

"If it is argued that powers of actual resistance there must be, then there is the possibility of non-violent, or civilian resistance, at present being advocated by Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall in Peace

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. . . a report of India's protest about the use of UN trust territory for H-bomb



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. . . a report of India's protest about the use of UN trust territory for H-bomb tests.

. . . an important survey of the much neglected problem of world poverty, specially prepared for Peace News.

. . . an article on "Club Leadership as a form of National Service."

. . . a report on the development of the peace activities of the American Friends Service Committee.

. . . the full text of the Manchester Guardian and Catholic Herald editorials supporting Commander King-Hall's demand for an inquiry into non-violent defence.

. . . "The Conscientious Objector," an article by Don Murray, co-star with Marilyn Monroe in the film "Bus Stop."

. . . very many interesting and encouraging reports of the campaign against H-bomb tests in Britain and the USA . . . many readers' letters, and, putting ourselves last of all, the report of the Peace News 21st Birthday celebrations.

**IF THREE READERS WILL EACH SEND US £20** we will publish a 12-page issue next week. . . . a bumper issue for sale at the marches and demonstrations now taking place all over Britain.

**WIRE US TODAY IF YOU CAN HELP.**

Discuss with your friends how you can increase our sales. Send £1 for one dozen copies of the next eight issues. Take collections for Peace News at your meetings if you believe Peace News has a job to do in the world today.

ments in Nigeria are demanding adult suffrage at the Conference now meeting in London. Will the Prime Minister of Central Africa accept adult suffrage, which is the only basis of real democracy?

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"One thing is certain. The dogma of one man one vote cannot play in our part of Africa in the foreseeable future. Any pretence that it could is only mischievous and dangerous."

At any rate, we know where we stand with Central Africa's Premier. Sir Roy Welensky should also know where the Labour Party stands. We are pledged to refuse to hand over any African territory to a European minority. Our condition for independence is democracy.

### Labour's policy

Recently there has been great pressure in Press and Parliament for a "bi-partisan" British Colonial policy. The eagerness of the Tories for a united front between the Government and the Opposition on this issue is almost pathetic. They want unity behind the European settlers before the clash breaks.

To be frank, there are a few voices in the Labour Party who want it also, but they are at present an insignificant back-bench minority. During the period in Opposition, Labour's policy in regard to the colonies has advanced more than on any other subject. It is now our task to see that it is applied when Labour comes to power.

Sir Roy Welensky has recently revealed the kind of franchise he wants in Central Africa. There are to be two classes of voters. The first will be small and "high qualifications" will be required. By this I suspect Sir Roy means, following the example of Kenya that income and property tests will be applied as well as educational. This select circle will elect 75 per cent. of the members of the Legislature. It will, of course, be mainly European.

The second class of voters will be larger. It will include those registered in Class 1

□ ON PAGE FIVE

nuclear weapons.

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In a lengthy editorial on June 11, the Manchester Guardian declared:

"Even for those who are less gloomy than Sir Stephen about the effectiveness of the deterrent in the next few years, the proposal seems worth support."

If any of the possible developments of modern weapons were to emerge, "the alternative of non-violent resistance might be, as Sir Stephen suggests, the best means to defend our way of life. An enquiry, at any rate, seems a cheap precaution."

"The inquiry is not one which a Government could readily undertake. It would be less embarrassing if organised by non-official bodies."

The Manchester Guardian felt that violence and Western military preparations had played a potentially useful role in maintaining the "will to resist" in Eastern Europe.

"What we are trying to defend—whether by the nuclear deterrent or by non-violent resistance—is a system of government by consent and of individual liberty. By either method its defence depends on projecting an idea.

### MORAL INFLUENCE

"For the deterrent to be effective the Russian Government must be persuaded that the cost to itself of trying to spread Communism by military force will be too high.

"Equally, for non-violent resistance to be effective the Russian Government must be persuaded that it cannot successfully impose Communism on people who do not want it. At present the former appears more likely to achieve its objective than the latter."

The editorial concluded: "An inquiry into non-violent resistance would have to

Brink's entrance into the nuclear bomb race "deprives this country of the opportunity of making the kind of gesture needed if the nuclear race is to be stopped and disarmament begun in earnest."

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"If it is argued that powers of actual resistance there must be, then there is the possibility of non-violent, or civilian resistance, at present being advocated by Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall in Peace News."

### BREAKING THE DEADLOCK

The editorial said there was "little hope" that non-violent resistance against "a determined Soviet Russia" would be effective, but maintained that "it is arguable that the deterrent effect of a third world 'moral force,' resolved on every means of civilian and non-violent resistance, if the worse came to the worst, would hardly be less than the USA's nuclear and atomic weapons."

In present conditions, Great Britain and the Commonwealth, acting in unison with Western Europe could realise "Great Power" status infinitely more effectively by moral influence than by being a very bad third in the nuclear race.

"Nor have we any doubt that such a policy (too late perhaps for a Conservative Government but open to a Labour one) would receive the blessing of the Holy See and the great religious leaders of the world.

"Moreover, such an initiative would prove, we believe, the best means of breaking the present deadlock between the USA and the USSR in the nuclear armaments race."

On page five, Count Michael de la Bedoyere, Editor of the Catholic Herald, and Henry Osborne, MP, Hon. Sec. of the Parliamentary Group for World Government, write on Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall's proposal. A letter from Commander King-Hall appears on page six.

# March for peace with Donald Soper, Vera Brittain, Stuart Morris, Sybil Morrison

## Saturday, June 22, 2.30 p.m. assemble DICK SHEPPARD HOUSE, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1

Led by London Pipe Band

Leaflet distribution en route

Go all the way or join where you can!

**ROUTE:** Woburn Place, Southampton Row, Bloomsbury Way, Oxford St., Charing X Rd., Trafalgar Square, Cockspur St., Lower Regent St., Oxford St., Marble Arch, Oxford St., Tottenham Court Road, Euston Road, Endsleigh St.

E. A. BERGMAN



# MOUNTING H-PROTESTS

## WHITSTABLE

THE Atomic Scientists' Association estimated 1,000 deaths from each explosion of a nuclear weapon, said Dr. Hilton when he spoke recently at a protest meeting against H-bomb tests held in Whitstable (Kent).

Where there was enough radio-active material, fatal diseases such as cancer occur, he continued. Britain had come to the ridiculous situation where 60 per cent of her scientific manpower was engaged on research into the development of weapons of war to which some £200,000,000 was devoted while only 15 per cent of that sum went into medical research.

"We have got used to the idea of pressing a switch to get music or light. Don't let us get used to the idea of pressing a switch to eliminate our enemies on the other side of the world," he added.

"We have looked to the coming generation for a better world," said Miss Picton, of Herne Bay, who also spoke at the meeting. "but the coming generation will not be a lofty race if these tests are allowed to continue, it will be maimed, blind or imbeciles."

## LEICESTER

"I cannot attend church one Sunday and worship the Prince of Peace and then praise the manufacture of hydrogen bombs of Monday," declared Mr. Edward Rushworth, a former Liberal Party candidate when he spoke at a meeting of the Leicester branch of the Council for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapons Tests recently.

Dr. J. R. S. Fincham explained the genetic and cancer hazards caused by increased radiation and another speaker Mrs. Muriel Hutchinson concluded: "If we do not protest against the bomb, we acquiesce in its use. We must raise our voices in protest."

## CAMBRIDGE

A week of activity was organised at lightning speed after the formation on May 17 at Cambridge of a Council for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapon Tests.

Fifteen thousand leaflets were distributed round the town, literature stalls were set up in the market square and a poster parade was held in the afternoon of May 25. Two hundred and fifty people attended

beginning to come down in this country in the rain and it would reach its maximum in a few weeks' time, he added.

A resolution passed at the close of the meeting called for the suspension of all nuclear tests until the report of the World Health Organisation is published in six months' time.

It further stated that figures regarding the fall-out should be brought up to date and the full facts made known to the public and following their publication a referendum be held in Britain to determine whether the tests should be continued.

Political and religious organisations attended the meeting which was organised by the Salisbury Constituency Liberal Party.

Donald Dickinson, JP, who also spoke at the meeting, is the chairman of the recently formed Salisbury Council for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapon Tests. Several hundred signatures were obtained for a petition calling for the ending of the tests when the Council set up a stall in Salisbury market.

## HORNCHURCH

Radio-active material was 100 million times as lethal as the most deadly poison, said Dr. Arnott, Secretary of the Atomic Sciences Committee of the Association of Scientific Workers, during a meeting entitled "Atoms for War or Peace" organised by the Hornchurch and District "Way to Peace Group" on May 20.

He described the latest H-bomb as "the most fiendish, devilish type ever devised" which could effectively poison 100,000 square miles so that nothing could live in it.

"Mr. Selwyn Lloyd has called those who oppose the tests, Communists. We can pass that over as the symptom of a bankrupt mind," he added.

Councillor J. W. Bush, of the Conservative group on Hornchurch Council, was interrupted by laughter and cries of "Rubbish" when he spoke of "hysterical people who wanted to rush forward and stop our bomb tests."

## ST. IVES

Literature from Peace News, UNA and the National Council for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapon Tests and a anti-H-test petition was displayed in a shop window

## HACKNEY, LONDON

Many churches and local Trade Union branches are supporting the Hackney Committee for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapon Tests of which Mayor Ald. Bertie Cohen is the president.

An intensive campaign has begun to obtain signatures for an anti-H-test petition and "vantage points" have been selected throughout the borough. Petition forms, now being circulated, may be obtained from Mr. R. South, 91 Glenarm Road, London, E.5.

## ALFRETON

Although determined to do something to arouse public opinion about the H-test, Godfrey Cox, a 38-year-old ex-RAF man and member of the Mansfield Peace Group, found himself in complete isolation in the Derbyshire town of Alfreton. But acting entirely on his own initiative, he obtained posters from the National Council for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapon Tests; booked the film "Shadow of Hiroshima"; hired a Methodist hall; paid for an advertisement in the local Press; and invited Pennant G. Phillips, a leading Nottingham Quaker, to speak at the meeting.

With two sandwich boards, Godfrey then paraded the town during the next three days advertising the meeting.

An Alfreton Committee, pledged to arouse public opinion against the continuation of nuclear weapon tests was set up during the meeting with Godfrey Cox as secretary.

## SCOTLAND

Dr. George MacLeod, new pacifist Moderator of the Church of Scotland, in his closing speech of its General Assembly recently, declared that "the East is not going to accept what we call Christianity unless the Church of the West moves quicker about Church Union and nuclear weapons."

People in the Far East were not turning to Christianity because the church was "fissured, atomised, submerged," and be-

cause of "the Church's silence about nuclear weapons: the Church's connivance about nuclear weapons: the Church's collusion about nuclear weapons." The Scotsman reported.

"... I am not covertly hinting that pacifism is the answer," he said. "I am openly demanding that, at such a climactic time, churchmen everywhere should know what their answer is, and, if it be not pacifism, what is their answer in Christ?"

## IRELAND

"I am convinced in my own mind that deterrents are not the Christian answer," said the outgoing Moderator of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, the Very Reverend T. M. Barker.

"I cannot see how bombs can be defended in a Christian world view," continued Dr. Barker, who had been interned in Nagasaki in 1945, when the atomic bomb was dropped. "I believe that no nation today can afford the wasteful expense involved in nuclear weapons, but most of all I am convinced that we in the church can no longer opt out of the responsibility."

Referring to Dr. Barker's experience in Nagasaki, the new Moderator, the Very Reverend Professor R. J. Wilson, said:

"The suffering of that day and its aftermath should give the entire Church of Christ and all civilisation cause to heed what another missionary, Albert Schweitzer, has recently said: that we should seek some better method than testing of nuclear weapons to solve international differences."

## Petition to Archbishop

Over 7,000 signatures to a petition asking the Archbishop of Canterbury to denounce all H-bomb and kindred weapon tests have been collected and sent to His Grace by Aileen Hallsworth and Helena Sherlock.

## Facts and figures on TV

The substance of the Medical Research Council's report on "The Hazards to man of Nuclear and Allied Radiations" will be broadcast on BBC television on June 19 in a programme entitled "Facts and Figures."

More H-protest reports next week

BISHOP OF MANCHESTER AND THE H-BOMB  
*Remedy for fear: faith*



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The film "Shadow of Hiroshima" was shown the next day followed by a brains trust of scientists at a meeting organised by the Association of Scientific Workers.

Special prayers and services were held in the city churches on Sunday June 2 and the next day 200 people attended an open-air meeting arranged by the local FoR group.

## SALISBURY

Speaking at Salisbury of the statistics concerning the relation of cancer to radioactive particules, Col. Geoffrey F. Taylor, former Professor of Medicine at King Edward Medical College, said that the figures issued to Government Ministers and the public were one and a half years out of date.

Using these figures the Government were seeking the public's acquiescence in the testing of nuclear weapons. It was important that the British public should not be deluded as their example would be followed by other countries where public opinion was not so strong.

Col. Taylor used charts to illustrate the way in which radio-activity becomes concentrated in the growing points of the bodies of young children. Pastures in the West Country and other parts of Britain were already contaminated with radioactive Strontium 90 which was absorbed by human beings through the milk they drank, he continued.

Increases in contamination had already been recorded at Yeovil, due to the Russian and American tests. Radio-active fall-out from the Christmas Island tests was just

which could effectively poison 100,000 square miles so that nothing could live in it.

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Much free literature was distributed and 650 signatures were obtained for the petition.

## BRISTOL

At a meeting in Bristol Prof. C. A. Coulson, FRS, pointed out that an H-bomb exploded in Bristol near the ground would kill half the people between Bristol and London, the west wind being a bearer of the devastation.

At Christmas Island the explosion was at a great height and the particules would come down slowly. But the distribution could be relied upon to be complete, everyone being liable to be affected.

Professor A. V. Neale, MD, FRCP., PhD, of Bristol University, spoke of the enormous susceptibility of the human body to Strontium 90.

The meeting passed a resolution calling on the BBC to relay Dr. Albert Schweitzer's appeal urging the nations to abandon the tests.

## BLACKPOOL

A resolution which read: "This conference views with fear the development of the nuclear arms race, which can only end with complete disaster for the human race . . ." was passed at the Annual Conference of the National Amalgamated Union of Life Assurance Workers when it met at Blackpool from May 30-31.

The resolution concluded by calling on the Government "as a contribution to the moral leadership of the world, to abolish all A and H-bomb tests and to cease in their manufacture."

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## BISHOP OF MANCHESTER AND THE H-BOMB

### *Remedy for fear: faith*

IN no conceivable circumstances ought we to use the H-bomb, said the Bishop of Manchester, Dr. D. L. Greer, in his presidential address to the Manchester Diocesan Conference recently.

"All nations of the world, for realistic as well as spiritual reasons, must come to the abandonment of the use of force. These are not my words—not the words of a sentimental ecclesiastic—they are quoted from clause eight of the Charter of the United Nations. I am convinced that that time has come . . ." said Dr. Greer.

## A PLAGUE

"We realise (do we not?), he continued, that civil defence has become impossible, that 12 H-bombs could make this country uninhabitable . . ."

"It would be better to be defeated than to engage in H-bomb warfare," he added, "for when the last bomb has exploded you have lost what you were fighting for."

"Surely we have to realise (what those in authority do not seem to have realised) that the H-bomb is not a weapon: it is a plague, far worse than the dreaded bubonic plague. Its invention has created a completely new situation. We have got to adjust our mental furniture to cope with its advent."

Against the suggestion that Britain might retain the bomb as a deterrent or that she might undertake to use it only if it were used against her first, Dr. Greer said: "It is generally agreed that the root cause of our present situation is fear—fear fed on mistrust and suspicion."

"The only ultimate remedy for fear is faith—I do not here mean faith in God,

but faith in the other person, party or nation. And that means trusting them more than the facts, and past experience would justify us in doing, in the hope that we might thus create in them something which was not there before."

## ORDINARY MAN

Advocating the unilateral renunciation of the bomb, he continued: "I believe this might bring about a new situation and that it might create an atmosphere in which the gradual reduction in other armaments might be possible."

Though only three nations at present possess the H-bomb, if scientific history is any guide, in a few years' time that number may well be 23. "It will be much more difficult to act effectively then."

Dr. Greer said that he could not believe that tactical nuclear weapons could be used without drawing in the H-bomb. "We must abolish them, too," he said, "but one step at a time."

Speaking about the abolition of nuclear weapons he continued: "Someone must give a lead. Some one nation must make an act of faith. My hope is that it might be Great Britain."

Dr. Greer concluded that: "In matters of high policy, touching life and death, peace and war, trust no Government . . ."

"We have of recent years been far too ready to shelve our responsibility for decision by handing it over to the Government or the expert . . . If an H-bomb war starts it will be cold comfort to be told that we have followed the best technical advice."

The ordinary man must judge but it must be the informed ordinary man. "He must be given the facts and the issues must be patiently explained to him."



a monthly column by  
**STUART MORRIS**

Not far enough

THE General Assembly of the Church of Scotland included a discussion on the use of nuclear weapons, which recalled a previous debate on the Church's attitude to war, when George MacLeod, put the pacifist position, and the Reverend Professor Pitt-Watson argued that there were circumstances in which the Church should support a just war. On this occasion George MacLeod as Moderator had to keep quiet and the Professor argued strongly that the official motion of the Church and Nation Committee, urging the Government to use every possible means in concert with other Governments to reach agreement on a policy of disarmament and more especially on limiting experiments with nuclear weapons, did not go far enough.

He demanded that in the meantime the British Government should *pledge itself* to refrain from further H-bomb tests. In the end a compromise was reached, which did no more than ask the Government to refrain from further tests.

In a leading article The Scotsman accused the Assembly of lack of clarity (and almost of lack of courage) pointing out that Britain was not giving any sort of lead and that with the choice between a motion which gave a lead and one which did not, the Assembly by accepting the latter had refused to face up to its responsibility.

Unfortunately the Assembly also rejected an addendum moved by the Reverend Dr. J. H. Burry, the Secretary of the PPU Group in Aberdeen, asking the Church and Nation Committee to study the value and power of non-violent resistance as a means of defence and to report to the General Assembly in 1958.

### Faith is the deterrent

In his Diocesan Letter, the Archbishop of York while believing that the greatest need is to secure disarmament by agreement recognises the difficulty of securing the necessary international control and inspection, and in the meantime places his faith in deterrents. He says that appeals have been made to him to denounce atomic weapons, but in no case did they state clearly the alternative. Surely, it should be for a Christian Leader to suggest the alternative to what the Church has described as incompatible with the will of God.

Although he admits that the case for pacifism has gained in strength, the Arch-

# AMERICA AND THE H-BOMB IN MAY

By Dr. Homer Jack

WHILE Americans seem always to do "too little too late" by British standards, the effort to stop H-bomb tests accumulated considerable momentum in the last half of May. Here is the record:

May 16—The Reporter magazine published a long article on "Fall-out from Nevada" which revealed for the first time to most Americans that the Atomic Energy Commission was less than candid with the residents adjacent to this testing ground on the dangers of radiation even from "baby-bombs."

May 17—Prof. E. B. Lewis published a scientific paper on the relation of leukaemia to radiation. This appeared in Science, the official weekly publication of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, and this magazine editorialised that "it is apparent that the atomic dice are loaded."

### Human dignity

May 18—The Saturday Review published for the first time in America, the full text of the Schweitzer declaration and editor Norman Cousins revealed his efforts in helping Schweitzer produce this statement.

May 19—The Gallup Poll showed that 63 per cent of Americans agree that the US should stop nuclear tests if all other nations, including Russia, agree to stop such tests.

May 25—The Saturday Review published scientific criticisms of Dr. Willard Libby's attack on Schweitzer's declaration. Atomic scientist Harrison Brown concluded that "as the testing nations follow their present path, as their actions result indiscriminately in the deaths of persons all over the world, and as they continue to pursue an elusive security, they lose what is perhaps the most important element of true security—their human dignity."

### Open criticism

May 27—A subcommittee of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy opened extensive hearings in Washington on "The Nature of Radioactive Fall-out and its Effects on Man." This is no loaded hearing to shield the Atomic Energy Commission. If anything, many of the subcommittee members are openly critical of the AEC. Already the subcommittee has heard testi-

May 24—Dr. Arthur H. Compton, American atomic scientist, went to Oslo and said that Dr. Schweitzer "has vastly overrated" the dangers of fall-out.

### Direct action

May 28—The first nuclear test in the 1957 Nevada series was made—the forty-sixth test on the American continent.

Former President Harry Truman wrote that "the dangers that might occur from the fall-out in our tests involve a small sacrifice when compared to the infinitely greater evil of the use of nuclear bombs in war."

Organisationally, two significant developments occurred late in May. Both are embryonic but are well worth noting. A group of American citizens on the highest level are exploring the possibility of organising a nation-wide effort to oppose nuclear bomb tests. Separately, leaders of several pacifist organizations are uniting to form a committee to take direct action against the current atomic tests in Nevada, tests which are supposedly to continue until September.

### Genetic integrity

Also in May, Viking published a new volume, "Radiation: What It Is and How it Affects You," by Jack Schubert and Ralph E. Lapp. This timely book was widely reviewed in the American Press. It contains a detachable "Radiation Diary" for individual Americans to keep and take to their physicians whenever facing medical or other radiation hazards.

In the midst of all these efforts, there is some evidence that the American government may be ahead of its people in trying to outlaw H-bomb tests. It is reported that when Harold Stassen unveils the new American disarmament plan, a prominent feature will be the cessation of nuclear bomb tests. In addition, Senator Mike Mansfield, top Democratic leader in foreign policy, has asked President Eisenhower to call another Summit conference for the one purpose of stopping H-bomb tests. Also AEC chairman, Lewis Strauss, obliquely called for an

## A PRACTICAL POLICY



LAST month 40 MPs met in the House of Commons to discuss a Royal Commission on unarmed defence.

The significance of this can hardly be exaggerated. It means that an idea which has hitherto been widely ignored as the starry-eyed

idealism of a few woolly-minded pacifists is now being seriously considered by non-pacifist politicians and journalists as a practical and realistic policy.

We need hardly point out that this, the most hopeful movement towards peace since the war, having begun, everything possible must be done to support and accelerate it.

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THE EDITOR.

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of defence and to report to the General Assembly in 1958.

## Faith is the deterrent

In his Diocesan Letter, the Archbishop of York while believing that the greatest need is to secure disarmament by agreement recognises the difficulty of securing the necessary international control and inspection, and in the meantime places his faith in deterrents. He says that appeals have been made to him to denounce atomic weapons, but in no case did they state clearly the alternative. Surely, it should be for a Christian Leader to suggest the alternative to what the Church has described as incompatible with the will of God.

Although he admits that the case for pacifism has gained in strength, the Archbishop would not accept it as convincing. He prefers to think in terms of a choice between evils, and in so doing denies the effective authority of God by implying that there are circumstances within which it is not possible to do his will.

## What Manchester thinks...

On the other hand, the Bishop of Manchester in his Diocesan Magazine and at this Diocesan Conference stated that in no conceivable circumstances ought we to use the H-bomb and expressed the hope that renunciation of it would pave the way for general disarmament.

Unlike the Archbishop of York he believes that it is better to take a risk which is creative and can lead to no worse than material defeat, than to take one which might lead into a defeat where the only compensation was the total destruction of the enemy as well as ourselves.

He therefore pleaded for faith not only in God but "in the other person, party or nation." He added that the Suez controversy had taught a lesson which should be remembered. "It was then said 'We do not know the facts. We must trust the Government.' I say 'In matters of high policy touching life and death, peace and war, trust no government. In matters of high policy it is the ordinary man who must judge.'"

The Bishop of Chichester also appealed to the British Government to give a lead in renouncing the tests, but it is significant that in reporting the Diocesan Conference The Times made no reference to his appeal and concentrated entirely on the Bishop's decision to retire at the end of the year.

The Catholic Herald continues to carry in its correspondence columns a considerable number of letters, the large majority of which express opposition to preparations for nuclear warfare on moral grounds.

the testing nations follow their present policy, as their actions result indiscriminately in the deaths of persons all over the world, and as they continue to pursue an elusive security, they lose what is perhaps the most important element of true security—their human dignity."

## Open criticism

May 27—A subcommittee of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy opened extensive hearings in Washington on "The Nature of Radioactive Fall-out and its Effects on Man." This is no loaded hearing to shield the Atomic Energy Commission. If anything, many of the subcommittee members are openly critical of the AEC. Already the subcommittee has heard testimony that Russia would soon be capable of delivering an H-bomb attack on the United States that would kill 82,000,000 Americans.

But the news from America on H-bomb tests was not all good. In this same period there were some setbacks:

## H-FLASHES

**The Schweitzer appeal** has been signed by about 100,000 people in Norway (population about 3½ million). It was published in full in all the major newspapers.

**War Resisters in Stuttgart**, Germany, joined with the local Fellowship of Reconciliation in organising a public meeting recently, addressed by Professors Klumb and Rauhut.

**In New Zealand** a meeting of 1,600 people in Auckland Town Hall urged their Government to give a lead at UN and the coming conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers in the banning of H-bomb tests.

**The Anglican Primate of Australia**, Archbishop Mowll, as President of the World Council of Churches in Australia, has asked the Australian Prime Minister "to consider the viewpoint of Asians who have expressed urgent concern about the effects of nuclear experiments."

**A mass-parade of women** took place in Sydney, Australia, recently, according to a Reuter report. One hundred of them, representing 30 organisations tried to enter a building used by Federal Parliamentarians but police barred their way.

**Important discussions** are taking place in the USA among scientists, Quakers, writers and others with a view to action to halt tests.

E. Lapp. This timely book was widely reviewed in the American Press. It contains a detachable "Radiation Diary" for individual Americans to keep and take to their physicians whenever facing medical or other radiation hazards.

In the midst of all these efforts, there is some evidence that the American government may be ahead of its people in trying to outlaw H-bomb tests. It is reported that when Harold Stassen unveils the new American disarmament plan, a prominent feature will be the cessation of nuclear bomb tests. In addition, Senator Mike Mansfield, top Democratic leader in foreign policy, has asked President Eisenhower to call another Summit conference for the one purpose of stopping H-bomb tests. Also AEC chairman, Lewis Strauss, obliquely called for an early meeting of humanists and philosophers of the world in an effort to use the atom for constructive purposes and not for war.

America may be lagging, but slowly some of her leaders are coming out of their lethargy on this crucial issue of genetic integrity.

## Secret mission disclosure

**IN** a recent speech, Frank Allaun, MP (Lab. Salford East) criticised certain sections of the Press. "I bitterly resent the disgusting appeal to jingoism of such papers as the Daily Sketch, which during the Suez Crisis carried the front page headline, 'Let the cry babies moan,' the cry babies being people who disagreed with war on Egypt.

"When the bombing of Port Said took place I am afraid there were other kinds of babies who were moaning—Egyptian babies and British babies, the children of the fortunately few British casualties concerned."

Citing the case of an American bomber said to have been on purely routine operations when shot down near the Baltic, Mr. Allaun pointed out that the angry diplomatic exchanges had led to even angrier headlines in the newspapers. Yet "it transpires that shortly before he flew for the last time, the pilot of that aircraft, sent to his wife in America a letter saying how proud he was to be flying on that operation as it was a secret mission."

Two local weekly papers in America printed the letter but, despite the new light it threw on the situation, only three British papers printed it.

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## Disarmament sub-committee

THE hopes expressed by the Prime Minister and Mr. Selwyn Lloyd that something may now be expected to come out of the negotiations on the UN Sub-Committee on Disarmament are supported by similar undefined hopes expressed by Mr. Stassen for America and Mr. Zorin for Russia.

The basis for this controlled optimism is not to be found in anything that has occurred in the course of the recent Lancaster House meetings. It must be looked for in the talks that are going on behind the scenes which it is hoped will result in due course in some definite proposals for the Sub-Committee.

It is understood that Mr. Zorin is anxious to return to Russia with some kind of agreement, however modest, and there is intense activity on the part of the representatives of the Western Powers to agree among themselves on something that they can submit to him. It is evident that nothing very revolutionary is to be looked for.

For instance, there may be an adaptation of President Eisenhower's "open skies" proposition that will apply it neither to Russia and the US as originally suggested, nor to Central Europe as proposed by Russia, but to an area around the North Pole which may include Siberia and Alaska. It is possible that a mere "token" agreement of this kind may be psychologically better than nothing as registering once again after the "summit" talks of 1955 a common realisation of the unprecedented character of the menace of war today with the new weapons.

There is some evidence too that there is now developing a greater readiness to take some steps toward bringing atomic weapons under inspection and control. It is recognised that the states that have not yet, like the US, Russia, and Britain, equipped themselves with H-bombs will not be willing to forego the attempt to do so if they are not given the assurance that the three "great" powers have not submitted themselves to a controlled reduction.

## France next

THE next on the list of claimants to the "greatness" given by possession of the H-bomb is likely to be France, for whom 1960 will be the crucial year. By then it is estimated that France will have available sufficient plutonium or uranium 235 to make the manufacture of H-bombs possible.



The Group is to be called the "American Forum for Socialist Education." It has a national committee of 40, including a number of distinguished literary personalities, among whom are Dr. Stringfellow Barr and Waldo Frank. Among pacifists on the committee are Bayard Rustin, Milton Mayer and Russell Johnson.

Those forwarding the idea overlap considerably with the group responsible for the publication of "Liberation," the US monthly magazine with a "Third Way" orientation. Sidney Lens, a Chicago Trade Union

leader, who is one of the Associate Editors of "Liberation," is Secretary.

The upheaval among American Communists following the Krushchov de-Stalinisation speech and the Russian imposition of the Kadar Government on Hungary by armed force has been much greater than among the European Communist Parties, and those concerned in this movement who stand for free democratic conceptions apparently hope that even among those who are continuing their Communist Party membership in the US there may be a

readiness to abandon their traditional methods of action.

## US Communists

WE shall watch this experiment with great interest but with considerable scepticism. There can clearly be great value today in discussion between those ex-Communists who have been impelled by the Hungarian happenings to rethink their position and those who have hitherto held that the Communist method of action is inevitably destructive of worthwhile human values; but unless there is something fundamentally different in the official position of the US Communist Party and those of France, Italy and Britain it seems to us that such discussions only promise to be of value where those who were Communists by their resignation have renounced the methods which were the basis of their Party's activities.

The Council of the American Forum has among its members Professor Doxey Wilkerson, a present member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, and although it is laid down that members of the Forum represent themselves and not their organisations we shall await with great interest to learn whether Professor Wilkerson is able to act on the Council of the Forum independently of the instructions of his Party.

Should this prove to be possible it will have become evident that the US Communist Party has developed a radically different character from Communist Parties elsewhere.

## The Editor's NOTEBOOK

### Mrs. Matimba flies in

MRS. ADRI MATIMBA, Dutch wife of an African lawyer, Patrick Matimba, has joined her husband at St. Faith's Mission, Rusape, Southern Rhodesia.

She left Holland with their 21-months-old baby daughter, Hanneke, by air on April 25 after having been warned by the Dutch Foreign Office that things were unlikely to be easy for her and her husband and child in Rhodesia.

The Southern Rhodesia Land Apportionment Act does not prohibit mixed marriages but does not allow an African to live in European areas, or a European to live in African areas.

The long and the short of it is that an African, legally married to a white woman, has no right to live in his own country except under the "extra territoriality" of a Mission station. Hence their present refuge at the Co-operative Stores of St. Faith's.

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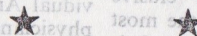
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## A SECOND 21 YEARS?

OUR twenty-first anniversary has brought very many wishes that Peace News may have a similarly useful life for the next 21 years. The conditions in which Peace News has to convey its message today are very different from those in which it started.

Its 21 years can be divided into two almost equal parts: the period leading up to and including World War II, and the period since that war. In contrast to 1936 there can today be no question of its surviving a new world war.

Since 1945 there have been a number of wars that have been reflected in its pages, including the very dreadful Korean War, the War in Egypt (in which Britain engaged in flagrant aggression), the Algerian War being waged today. Doubtless Peace News will have the unpleasant duty of carrying information regarding future local wars.



THERE will be, however, no further world war that Peace News will survive. An end to newspaper production, as we know it, would be a minor casualty in the destruction of so much of the life of the world.

The two periods of the past life of Peace News may also be described as the period before and after nuclear weapons. This means that although the message which Peace News was founded to spread remains fundamentally the same, there has been a radical change in the conditions in which it has to be delivered. The H-bomb has produced an absolute and ultimate change in the character of war.

In some ways the delivery of the pacifist message has become easier, in others more difficult. But unless mankind is brought to a vital realisation that other ways of living that permit peaceful relationships between men must be found, the message of pacifism will have failed.



how developing a greater realism to take some steps toward bringing atomic weapons under inspection and control. It is recognised that the states that have not yet, like the US, Russia, and Britain, equipped themselves with H-bombs will not be willing to forego the attempt to do so if they are not given the assurance that the three "great" powers have not submitted themselves to a controlled reduction.

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Whenever the French Defence Minister, M. Bourges-Manoury, makes a speech he refers to the necessity that the French Army shall be equipped with nuclear arms, and it is evident that he is not thinking merely in terms of what are called "tactical" weapons. The French Commissariat for Nuclear Energy has a "Department for New Techniques" whose work is secret. It is assumed that it is engaged on research connected with the construction of A-bombs and H-bombs when this becomes possible for France.

The arguments that France will use to justify this development will of course be precisely the arguments that Britain has heard from Mr. MacMillan. They will have equal validity for France and will have no less dangerous consequences. For the same arguments apply equally to West Germany, and when Germany passes on from "tactical" to "strategic" nuclear weapons the position of France, and of course Britain will be one of much greater danger than it was before Mr. MacMillan decided that Britain must be "great." Whatever comes from the present Lancaster House negotiations it will be many a long day before we shall be able to forget the consequences of Britain's H-bomb.

## American experiment

LARGELY through the efforts of A. J. Muste, Secretary Emeritus of the American Fellowship of Reconciliation, there has come into being in the United States a combination of people of "left" tendencies, including some Communists, for "study and serious untrammelled political discussion among all elements that think of themselves as related to historic Socialist and Labour traditions, values and objectives."

Doubtless Peace News will have the unpleasant duty of carrying information regarding future local wars.

★ ★  
**THERE** will be, however, no further world war that Peace News will survive. An end to newspaper production, as we know it, would be a minor casualty in the destruction of so much of the life of the world.

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In some ways the delivery of the pacifist message has become easier, in others more difficult. But unless mankind is brought to a vital realisation that other ways of living that permit peaceful relationships between men must be found, the message of pacifism will have failed to achieve its purpose, and the future of mankind is doomed. Pacifism can only be successful if the new situation can in time bring the mass of men to face the fact that in an unqualified renunciation of war lies the only policy for mankind that does not seek to escape realities.

★ ★  
**IT** must be the function of the pacifist movement, and of Peace News, its newspaper, to seek more effective ways to bring men to face this fact.

There is no longer the need to convince men that war in itself cannot be desirable. It is hard to realise that anyone could have ever believed that. There is no need today to refute the psychological, and even biological, nonsense on war that was still widely prevalent even when Peace News began.

But there is still the need to convince men that they must abandon reliance on the threat of war.

The Suez affair demonstrated how easily those using war as an instrument of policy can be induced to move from threat to action. After the Franco-British aggression, the chain-reaction began of threat and counter-threat that will finally—unless we learn that we must renounce the power to threaten—bring the world down in nuclear warfare, in which the "deterrent" (merely another word for threat) will play its deadly part in general massacre.

★ ★  
**IT** is the terrible and overwhelming character of the new threat of world war that is the biggest obstacle in pacifist work today, and in increasing the circulation obviously demanded for a paper like Peace News.

That is why despite Peace News being 21 years old, it is still the only weekly newspaper of its kind in the world.

Men and women very naturally do not want to contemplate the horror that hangs over them. The defensive mechanism in their minds that helps them to keep this realisation away also keeps them from exercising their moral responsibility on the most important issue that will govern their future—or whether they will have a future.

The most important work of the pacifist today is to find ways of breaking through this psychological barrier in the average man and woman. Only if this barrier can be broken down, can there come to men today the realisation that the one realist answer to the threat of a third world war is the complete renunciation of preparation for war.

joined her husband at St. Faith's Mission, Rusape, Southern Rhodesia. She left Holland with their 21-months-old baby daughter, Hanneke, by air on April 25 after having been warned by the Dutch Foreign Office that things were unlikely to be easy for her and her husband and child in Rhodesia.

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The long and the short of it is that an African, legally married to a white woman, has no right to live in his own country except under the "extra territoriality" of a Mission station. Hence their present refuge at the Co-operative Stores of St. Faith's.

## White settlers opposition

PATRICK MATIMBA, a lawyer, met his wife while he was studying in England and she was doing domestic work with a family at Guildford, Surrey, in order to improve her English.

They can live without restriction at the Mission. But when they venture into Rusape, they are likely to feel the opposition of the white settlers who last February staged a protest meeting on learning that a visa had been granted to Mrs. Matimba.

## Professor Catlin's book

THREE days after Gollancz publishes Vera Brittain's new book, "Testament of Experience," Phoenix House will publish a book by her husband, Professor George Catlin, "What Does the West Want?"

The substance of his book, a study of the political aims and aspirations of the non-Communist world, was delivered by Professor Catlin at the University of North Carolina as the Weil Lectures.

Contributors to this well-known lecture series have included Eleanor Roosevelt and Harold Laski.

Both books will be reviewed in Peace News. Vera Brittain's next week, and Prof. Catlin's the week after.

I hear that each had dedicated their book to the other without the other knowing till it was in print.

## REFLECTIONS ON DEFENCE

Reprints of Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall's "Reflections on Defence" are still obtainable at 15s. per 100, or 2s. a doz., from Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.



# Continuing the discussion on Commander King-Hall's unarmed defence proposal A POSSIBLE ANSWER TO THE DILEMMA OF CHRISTIANS TODAY BUT IS NON-VIOLENCE THE ONLY ANSWER ?

asks Henry Osborne, MP

**A** FEW days ago I was present at a Catholic conference during which a priest gave an address. Early in his speech, he invited the audience to consider what Our Lord's attitude to many contemporary habits and phenomena would have been.

Together with sex display, newspaper uncharity, tax-evading and petty dishonesty of employees, he mentioned the H-bomb. I think few could have been in much doubt about Our Lord's reaction to this last expression of modern civilisation.

But after his speech, the speaker answered questions and one member of the audience mentioned that his nephew in Australia kept on asking in his letters about the British attitude to the H-bomb.

"What is yours, Father?" the questioner asked. The speaker, instead of referring back to Christ, gave a semi-political answer in which he explained why he personally thought that the rights of self-defence made it necessary for us to have H-bombs in answer to the Soviet.

I do not want to indict that speaker (who, in fact, is a friend of mine) because I think that the dilemma in which he found himself is typical of many of the very best Christians today.

## Ultimate right

For years I have pondered on this question only to be faced by this dilemma: on the one hand, nothing can justify the use (and therefore the making and possession) of an intrinsically indiscriminate weapon which must recklessly kill perhaps millions of innocent citizens and destroy the basis of ordered civilised living; on the other, every man has an ultimate right to defend himself against a self-avowed anti-God totalitarian tyranny.

I have temporarily found a refuge in the increasing certainty that this country, at least, is not morally justified in making and possessing H-bombs.

In adopting a policy, whose defence can only be it (seems to me) the wish to retain the prestige of being a great Power, Britain has missed the chance of making a great

also believe in the right to self-defence against materialistic barbarism.

This is why I am deeply interested in any serious study of the techniques of "non-violent resistance" as a possible answer. I must honestly confess that at first sight I see serious difficulties.

A month or so ago, I had a long conversation with a distinguished visitor from Poland with a fine record of resistance to Nazism for which he paid with months in a concentration-camp.

## Precedents

I asked him why the same sort of underground resistance could not be carried out against the Soviet hold on his country. He said: "The Gestapo were children compared with the Russians and their agents in Poland. It just can't be done."

The point is whether the precedents of "non-violent resistance," successfully achieved, as for example against British rule in India, have not been in conditions where either a moral conscience or stupidity have weakened the power of the overlord.

In other words, can "non-violent resistance" in the long run save a civilised way of life as against absolute ruthlessness combined with fully organised and skilful use of all modern methods of beastliness?

I do not say that the present regime in Russia, after the fall of Stalinism, fulfils these conditions of ruthless power. This again is a question for study.

In other words, I would suggest that the line of "non-violent resistance" really offers some hope today of escaping the terrible dilemma that I have described.

But so long as that dilemma persists, namely the possibility of the destruction of a civilised and Christian-based society by absolute ruthlessness, served by all modern methods of control and tyranny, then I, for one, shall find it hard to reach

**T**HE suggestion that a Royal Commission should be set up to study the possibilities of non-violent resistance is a good one. The fact that so many responsible people like Commander King-Hall are thinking on these lines is, as Barbara Wootton said, of great significance; it cannot be long before some new proposal is adopted in place of the traditional and now obviously bankrupt policy of the White Paper.

But what is the new system to be? Is non-violent resistance the answer? If not, is there an alternative? These are questions we should try to answer. I think there are, broadly speaking, three forms of defence policy from which we could make a choice—not two only.

There is, first, the conventional one, where a sovereign State arms itself as heavily as it can afford and makes alliances with some nations in an effort to secure its own independence and self-interest against another nation or group of nations it regards as hostile. This old tribal policy is presented today in its newest look in the

latest Government White Paper.

Then there is non-violent resistance, better known to Asians as satyagraha, the potentialities of which have, in recent years, impressed Commander King-Hall and many other observers.

There is a third alternative, the federalists', which I think deserves close examination. Let me briefly describe what this idea is, so that I may compare its merits with those of NVR.

The federalists argue that peace is a by-product of government, that it flows from the institutions of law, order, and justice, and that so long as States are sovereign and have the legal right and military power to contract out of "law" then anarchy, another name for war, prevails. They therefore propose that Britain should take a lead in a general advance towards a governed world in the following manner.

★ ON BACK PAGE

## OUR CONTRIBUTORS

**COUNT MICHAEL DE LA BEDOYERE** has been Editor of the *Catholic Herald* since 1934. Born in 1900, he was educated at Stonyhurst and Oxford University (MA First-Class Honours Modern Greats). He was assistant master at Beaumont College 1928-29 and Lecturer in Philosophy at the University of Minnesota, USA, 1930-31. In 1932-34 he was Assistant Editor of the *Dublin Review*.

★ **HENRY USBORNE, MP** (Labour), has represented Yardley Division of Birmingham since 1950, and has been in the House of Commons since 1945. He is a founder and Hon. Sec. of the Parliamentary Group for World Government. Born in 1909, he was educated at Bradfield College and Corpus Christi, Cambridge. He is Chairman of Nu-Way Heating Plants Ltd.





tion only to be faced by this dilemma on the one hand, nothing can justify the use (and therefore the making and possession) of an intrinsically indiscriminate weapon which must recklessly kill perhaps millions of innocent citizens and destroy the basis of ordered civilised living; on the other, every man has an ultimate right to defend himself against a self-avowed anti-God totalitarian tyranny.

I have temporarily found a refuge in the increasing certainty that this country, at least, is not morally justified in making and possessing H-bombs.

In adopting a policy, whose defence can only be it (seems to me) the wish to retain the prestige of being a great Power, Britain has missed the chance of making a great moral gesture before the world. In deliberately renouncing the manufacture and use of the H-bomb, Britain could have given a lead to the whole world.

But to believe and maintain this, can be no final answer to an unquiet conscience, for there always lies at the back of our minds in this country the realisation that if the worst came to the worse we should be sheltering under the nuclear defence of America.

The dilemma, in its full force, only affects the USA and the USSR, the only two really "great" Powers of the world today.

**It would be hypocritical on my part to pretend that I can really resolve my own dilemma: I believe that the H-bomb is incompatible with Christianity; but I**



Count Michael de la Bedoyere

ance" in the long run save a civilised way of life as against absolute ruthlessness combined with fully organised and skilful use of all modern methods of beastliness?

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but others will be admitted on "lower qualifications." Even here, it will be observed, there is not to be adult suffrage, though a majority of Africans and Asians is likely. This wider section of second-class citizens will graciously be permitted to elect one quarter of the members of the Legislature.

This is only half of Sir Roy Welensky's plan to keep power in European hands. The other part has been revealed in a Bill which has just been introduced in the Federal Legislature.

At present four of the six Africans in the Assembly are elected by African Councils: two from Nyasaland, two from Northern Rhodesia. The two African representatives from Southern Rhodesia are elected on what is called ironically a "common roll": it is composed of 55,000 Europeans and less than 600 Africans!

#### WIPED OUT

Sir Roy now proposes that if an African is elected by his new Class 1 or Class 2 voters, they shall lose one of their special representatives. Finally, these representatives may be wiped out altogether. In addition, the African Affairs Board, which has the right to challenge any legislation which discriminates against Africans, would also be wiped out.

**So it comes to this. In a territory where there are 6,000,000 Africans and only a quarter of a million Europeans, a mainly White electorate will return three-quarters of the members of the Legislature. The maximum representation for**

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Portrait study by Bassano  
Henry C. Usborne, MP

## BE FIRM WITH SIR ROY

**which Africans can reasonably hope is one-fourth. And Sir Roy wants Britain to recognise this Legislature as an instrument of self-government and independence!**

This issue immediately concerns India and Ghana, and soon it will concern Malaya and Nigeria as they become self-governing Dominions. It concerns India and Ghana immediately because Sir Roy Welensky has indicated that he intends to raise the question of Central Africa's independence at the coming meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers.

I don't know by what right the Prime Minister of Central Africa attends this Conference. The precedent was set before the Central African Federation was formed: the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia was invited to these annual occasions as a consultant observer because that territory (or, at least, its White minority), without being a Dominion, had the right of internal self-government. But the Whites in the Federation do not yet possess that power over its northern territories, Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia: African affairs are still under the jurisdiction of the Colonial Office.

**Sir Roy Welensky's presence, therefore, is constitutionally illogical.**

Nevertheless, he has indicated that he intends to raise the claim of Central Africa to independence at the Commonwealth Conference. I have little doubt that India and Ghana will resist that demand until a democratic franchise is introduced. I have little doubt that Malaya and Nigeria will do so when they are represented as self-governing

Dominions. We should all like to see Central Africa independent, but it must be on the basis of democracy.

In the background there is a still wider issue. The Federation of Central Africa was established against the wishes of the African population. That opposition has not lessened during the four years of White domination which have followed. In 1960 the Constitution of the Federation will come under review. What is to happen if African opposition is maintained?

#### TWO FEARS

The Conference of Commonwealth and Colonial Labour Parties which met at Dorking last week gave a lead on this subject. It claimed that the peoples of the three territories—the two Rhodesias and Nyasaland—should have the right of self-determination. If a plebiscite were taken on the whole population, there is no doubt that Nyasaland would decide to withdraw from the Federation and there is little doubt that Northern Rhodesia would make the same decision.

This is the reason why Sir Roy Welensky is in such a hurry to get "independence." He has two fears. The first is that the Labour Party, whose ideas he has described as "half-baked," will be returned to power in 1960. His second fear is that the African majorities in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia will resist the continuation of a White-dominated Federation in that year.

**We must be firm with Sir Roy. The peoples of Central Africa must have democracy. They must have self-determination.**

□ FROM  
PAGE ONE



## The next move

From Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall

**M**AY I express my appreciation to all those who in Peace News and in letters sent to me from all over the country and overseas are supporting the idea that there should be an authoritative enquiry of some kind into the question of whether or not the Defence policy of the United Kingdom should be based on the strategy and tactics of non-violent resistance.

I would also like to report that urgent consultations are taking place to decide what the next move should be. The fact is that in putting forward the proposal we seem to have pressed a button A which has suddenly connected us to an enormous public and this creates administrative problems.

They will be solved, but it is important to remember that part of our task is a great educative effort in Great Britain, and if this is to be successful it must be conducted with energy, determination, and careful planning.—**STEPHEN KING-HALL, 162 Buckingham Palace Rd., London, S.W.1.**

## Unarmed defence

**I**T is officially recognised that a dozen or so hydrogen bombs could devastate this country, and that there is no effective defence against them. It has now been demonstrated that Britain can explode her own hydrogen bombs, but we confess that this does not make us feel any more secure.

It is plain that defence by armed force has reached a "reductio ad absurdum" and we are bound to ask ourselves the question: "Is there no other means of defence which does not involve this threat to destroy and be destroyed?"

# Letters to the Editor

We were very pleased to see that this question was raised in a recent issue of the King-Hall Newsletter, with the suggestion that a Royal Commission be established to explore the possibilities of defence without armed force. We have ourselves been thinking out some of the implications of unarmed defence and should be glad to hear from any of your readers who have the same concern.

**CHARLES A. COULSON,  
A. RUTH FRY,  
C. ERNEST PEVERLEY,  
—ALAN LITHERLAND, 16 Harlech Road,  
Liverpool 23.**

## Labour and Conservative

**T**HE writer of your notes 'In Perspective' (P.N. May 31) makes an amazing declaration. He writes: "it is difficult enough in all conscience to distinguish between what the Labour Party and what the Conservative Party stand for."

If this is true why is it that Peace News always turns to the Labour Party when it wants articles by MPs written from the pacifist and anti-imperialist viewpoint? Is there one Tory MP who would agree with any of the objectives of the pacifist movement?

May I point out some further obvious differences that seem to have escaped your contributor's notice?

1. As the 1956 Conservative Party annual conference showed the rank and file of that Party are even more bellicose than their leaders. This was revealed by the hysteria over Suez and support for capital punishment.

By comparison the membership of the Labour Party is more enlightened than the leaders on peace issues i.e.: the H-bomb, opposition to German re-armament, colonial policy etc.

2. There has always been active opposition to conscription in the Labour Party, even when Labour was in office. Are there any Tories who have taken a consistent stand on this issue?

3. The Labour Party led British public opinion against the Suez war policy of the Eden Government.

4. There is not one Tory MP who has opposed manufacture or testing of the H-bomb. Many Labour MP's oppose the whole policy, whilst the official policy of the Party is against the tests.

5. In home affairs the Tories pursue an economic policy to placate those who live by rent, profit and interest, whilst Labour believes in planning for public welfare.

The Labour Party, although it has made many mistakes, has been built on socialist foundations. Socialism seeks to establish the brotherhood of man. I believe the Tories stand for the exact opposite, as their record clearly shows.—**RON HUZARD, 37 Hollingworth Rd., Petts Wood, Kent.**

## Letter from Gandhi

**W**ITH regard to your 1909 letter from Gandhi to Tolstoy published P.N. May 31, when I visited Yasnaya Polyana in 1932—this was the village where Tolstoy had his home—Tolstoy's study was exactly as he had left it in 1910 (the house and all in it were destroyed. I believe, in the war); on his study table was Mr. Doke's book, about which Gandhi writes, with an inscription in it from Gandhi.—**JOHN S. HOYLAND, Kentmere, Rednal, Birmingham.**

## UN Police Force

**D**O pacifists consider it against their principles to serve in the UN Police Force, and if so how do they justify their point of view?

Inside the nation, law and order depend very largely on goodwill and public opinion, but we find it necessary to have police who use a certain amount of force against those individuals who are not willing to keep the law out of spontaneous goodness—and we all have moments of unwillingness.

Is it not likely that the community of nations will develop in the same way?

It seems to me that their is room for a group of individuals who would pledge themselves not to use or manufacture nuclear weapons in any circumstances nor to help others to do so, not to serve in the armed

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# DESCRIPTIVE VERSES

**D. S. Savage reviews**

The Descent into the Cave. By James Kirkup, Oxford University Press, 12s. 6d.

**M**R. Kirkup is known chiefly for a memorable poem about a heart operation which he attended as a spectator—memorable by virtue of the novelty and interest of its subject: it was an accurate and telling piece of reportage. In these verses, too, Mr. Kirkup plays the role of onlooker, and many of them are on novel and interesting subjects: of public convenience, of old trousers, an expedition with spelaeologists. Nothing wrong with the descriptions:

*Smooth elm handles, shaped  
By the craftsman's adze,  
And by the years, to fit  
The gardeners' great hands.*

Kirkup, Oxford University Press, 12s. 6d. These should be made subservient to an inner vision and become its vehicles. Or at least they should be pervaded by the poet's temperament, or somehow brought within the circles of his moods and obsessions. But Mr. Kirkup seems to have no obsessions, and not much temperament.

His poetic personality works at low tension, and this is expressed in loose lines, slack

**BOOKS**

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MR. Kirkup is known chiefly for a memorable poem about a heart operation which he attended as a spectator—memorable by virtue of the novelty and interest of its subject: it was an accurate and telling piece of reportage. In these verses, too, Mr. Kirkup plays the role of onlooker, and many of them are on novel and interesting subjects: of public convenience, of old trousers, an expedition with spelaeologists. Nothing wrong with the descriptions:

*Smooth elm handles, shaped  
By the craftsman's adze,  
And by the years, to fit  
The gardeners' great hands.*

*Two sturdy legs, one  
Shorter than the other, stand  
With broad composure on  
Gravelled path or tilted land.*

(The Garden Wheelbarrow)

Still, it's a weakness in a poet to lean so entirely upon his subject-matter, his obser-

ventions. These should be made subversive to an inner vision and become its vehicles. Or at least they should be pervaded by the poet's temperament, or somehow brought within the circles of his moods and obsessions. But Mr. Kirkup seems to have no obsessions, and not much temperament.

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## BOOKS

rhythms, heterogeneous images and miscellaneous subjects.

True poets are more *involved*, intelligently involved, in life than Mr. Kirkup seems to be: for them, the onlooker's role is insufficient. Perhaps the best things here are the translations, and a humorous piece called "Love in a Space Suit." There is good description in the title-poem.

## Man's mind and the world

ROBERT GREACEN reviews

**Saving The Appearances:** A Study in Idolatry by Owen Barfield, Faber 21s.

AT the outset it must be stated that this reviewer has no qualifications, other than a willingness to learn, for critical comment on a learned philosophical study such as "Saving the Appearances."

This is indeed a difficult book whose riches will only be yielded to the reader prepared not merely to read it once, but to live with it for a time, reading and re-reading it.

Owen Barfield starts from a theory of knowledge that stresses the subjective element in contemporary human experience. Then he proceeds to show that the growth of human thought may not just be considered as the history of men with minds like our own and who simply happened to hold different ideas about phenomena, but that man's mind and the world he inhabits develop together.

A plea is made for what the author terms "final participation," beginning with recognition of the man-made nature of our world. Thus we should be led forward, Mr. Barfield believes, eventually to see the revelation of a mind like ours, and which has become "ours" through the Incarnation, by which the Creator of man's world Himself became man.

## International Organisations

**Yearbook of International Organisations,** Smith edition, London: E.S.Tew, 70s.

ANYONE actively concerned with international affairs, whether commercial, industrial, social or governmental, will have frequent need of recourse to this excellent reference book.

Despite its title, it is not a yearbook, but a directory, and seems to appear not annually but biennially.

It is well printed and strongly bound in Belgium, and in nearly 1,300 pages contains full details of the structure, membership, officers, objects and activities of more than 1,100 international organisations. A rapid check on those that came readily to the mind showed that they were all there in detail (including the War Resisters' International) and, a small point that gave confidence in the care with which the compilation had been done, the date at which the information was last checked appeared at the end of each entry.

T.R.D.

DO pacifists consider it against their principles to serve in the UN Police Force, and if so how do they justify their point of view?

Inside the nation, law and order depend very largely on goodwill and public opinion, but we find it necessary to have police who use a certain amount of force against those individuals who are not willing to keep the law out of spontaneous goodness—and we all have moments of unwillingness.

Is it not likely that the community of nations will develop in the same way?

It seems to me that there is room for a group of individuals who would pledge themselves not to use or manufacture nuclear weapons in any circumstances nor to help others to do so, not to serve in the armed forces of any individual nation, but be willing to serve in any international police force acting under the orders of the UN, using non-nuclear weapons and trained to use only the minimum force necessary.

Such a group would act as a pressure group compelling the Government to support and strengthen the UN. Women and older men might withhold the part of their income tax spent in national armaments and offer to pay it to the UN instead.

Will readers give me their opinions?  
—JANE DARROCH, 9 Falcon Gdns., Edinburgh 10.

## Towards independence

SINCE Professor Ferguson wrote his background for Peace News, May 24, on the (Nigerian) Constitutional Conference, one or two of the points he made have been invalidated.

The Sardauna's speeches in London in the last few days point clearly not to jealous care against being "swamped by the more volatile south," but to a desire in the Northern Region for closer integration with the Eastern and Western Regions.

Here are a few facts to help your readers properly evaluate John Ferguson's statistics:

1. Over 80 per cent of the total population of this country are still illiterate. In the Northern Region, where the illiteracy incidence is about 95 per cent, there are less than 20 indigenous university graduates.
  2. The ratio of medical practitioners to population in Nigeria is about a thousandth that of England.
  3. Less than 500 miles of railway have been constructed during the last 20 years.
  4. Dr. Azikiwe is not a lawyer.
- OLUMBE BASSIR, University College, Ibadan, Nigeria.

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# DIARY

As this is a free service we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Mon. 2 m.
2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

Friday, June 14

**LONDON, BOWES PARK, N.13:** 8 p.m.; Bowes Park Methodist Church, Bowes Road, N.13. Arlo Tatum, Secretary of War Resisters' International, "International Peacemaking." Methodist Peace Fellowship.

Monday, June 17

**NORTHFLEET:** 8 p.m.; The Manse, Dene Holm Road. Gravesend ForR Meeting.

**SOUTHAMPTON:** 7.30 p.m.; Friends Meeting House, Ordnance Road. Discussion on Unilateral Disarmament. PPU.

Tuesday, June 18

**BRIGHTON:** 7.30 p.m. Friends Centre, Ship Street. Film "Shadow of Hiroshima." H-bomb Meeting led by Rev. John Rowlands, BSc, UNA, SoF and PPU.

**DOWNHAM MARKET:** 7.30 p.m.; Wesley Methodist Church Schoolroom, Cannon Square. Film, "Shadow of Hiroshima." West Norfolk Committee for Nuclear Weapons Information.

**LONDON, N.14:** 8 p.m.; Church House, Small Hall, High Street. Public Meeting (Inter-denominational) "The Hazards of H-bomb Tests." Main speaker: Dr. Michael Ash, Medical Research Scientist.

**STRETFORD:** 7.30 p.m.; 77 Derbyshire Lane. Manchester Central Group PPU.

**E. SHEEN:** 8 p.m.; Vernon Hall, Vernon Road. Speaker: B. G. Pope. Subject: Christian Science. Members and friends—Richmond PPU.

Wednesday, June 19

**SOUTH WOOTTON:** 7.30 p.m.; Village Hall. Film, "Shadow of Hiroshima." West Norfolk Committee for Nuclear Weapons Information.

Thursday, June 20

**ALTON:** 7.30 p.m.; "Hillcrest." Windmill Hill. Ted Berrow leads a discussion on "How to Deal with a Dictator." by A. J. Muste. PPU Group. PLEASE NOTE CHANGE.

**BRENTWOOD:** 8 p.m.; Congregational Church. Vera Brittain.

**LEYTONSTONE:** 8 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Bush Road (near Green Man). Ray Harris on Children's Books and Reading. E.10 and E.11 PPU Group.

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street. A speaker from the Young Conservative Association. PYAG.

**ROCHESTER:** 7.30 p.m. at 24 Blaker Avenue. Geoff. Hemingway "Quaker Relief in Korea." ForR.

**SOUTH LYNN:** 7.30 p.m.; Union Baptist Chapel, Wisbech Road. Film, "Shadow of Hiroshima." West Norfolk Committee for Nuclear Weapons Information.

Friday, June 21

**KING'S LYNN:** 7.30 p.m.; St. James's Methodist Church Hall. Film, "Shadow of Hiroshima." West Norfolk Committee for Nuclear Weapons Information.

Saturday, June 22

**BIRMINGHAM:** 2.30 p.m.; Women's Protest March from Cambridge Restaurant (behind Hall of Memory). Black sashes.

Sunday, June 23

**CAULSDON:** 3 p.m.; 87 Chaldon Way. Edgar Harvey "Recollections of a Pacifist in the first World War." Surrey Area PPU.

Monday, June 24

**HUNSTANTON:** 7.30 p.m.; Methodist Church Hall, Austin Street. Film "Shadow of Hiroshima." West Norfolk Committee for Nuclear Weapons Information.

Tuesday, June 25

**ROTHERHAM:** 7.30 p.m.; Public Library. Film, "Shadow of Hiroshima." Election of Committee to continue campaign against H-bomb tests.

**WISBECH:** 7.30 p.m.; Baptist Church Hall. Film, "Shadow of Hiroshima." West Norfolk Committee for Nuclear Weapons Information.

## While in Hamburg, Gene Sharp interviewed TWO GERMAN COs

WHAT most of the young war resisters in Germany are like I cannot say. I met several while in Hamburg and interviewed two of them for Peace News. It is difficult to say how typical their views are, but they are not unusual.

Heinz Hohn and Thomas Hahn, both 19, are members of the Hamburg group of International der Kriegsdienstgegner (IdK), the German section of the War Resisters' International.



Heinz Hohn

Heinz was blond, tall and pleasant; he wore a long leather top coat. He does electro-mechanical work, such as insulation, for an electric company.

When we met he was expecting shortly to appear before one of the commissions the government has established to consider applications of conscientious objectors for exemption from military duty.

Heinz told me he would refuse military duty even if the commission did not grant him exemption.

### Not willing to kill

He had not heard much from other people about these ideas, but would be happy if all people held this opinion about war resistance. I asked questions in English and Hans-Konrad Tempel translated for us.

Why did he not want to go into the army?

"Because of my conscience. I am not willing to kill with weapons in my hand... not willing to kill another person."

He was, of course, against other people fighting as well. "The best thing would be to be neutral."

During the war Heinz' family lived in a hospital for soldiers. (His father was a pacifist.)

"I have seen with my own eyes how people have come back from the war."

He was willing to do alternative work in place of military duty. (Recognised objectors must do 21 months alternative work to the conscript's 12 months military duty.) Heinz would prefer to do work connected



Thomas Hahn

officer in the army, but Thomas' views were different.

"I don't like the soldiers and the war. Our society asks us not to kill, but the young men are asked to be trained in killing."

His was an act of conscience, he felt, and not directed against the State itself.

He met war resisters in the printing firm where he works. After some months (last July) he went to a meeting of IdK of boys his own age who would be subject to conscription.

"We met every fortnight in a preparation course," he said. They had mock commission sessions and some discussions. "After some time the newspapers said we must go to be soldiers." Thomas asked to be registered as a conscientious objector last November.

### Alternative work

He only reported for his physical examination after threats by the chairman of the commission. He too was waiting to appear before the commission asking for exemption as a war resister.

He would do some alternative work, but not just anything he might be asked to do.

"If it did come to war and I were in the army I would have to fight against brothers in East Germany," he told me. But he was, "of course, not willing to use arms" in other wars as well.

## CLASSIFIED Advertisements

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**LATEST TIME** for copy: Monday morning. Whilst the policy of Peace News is not to restrict any concern or individual from advertising in these columns, it must be noted that we do not necessarily share the views nor the opinions of all our advertisers.

### MEETING

**S. PLACE Ethical Soc.** Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London, W.C.1. Sunday, 11 a.m., June 16. Kathleen Knott, "Psychology and Practical Morality." Adm. free. Free copy "Monthly Record," on request.

**"HOW TO STAY YOUNG!"** Beatrice Park, BSc, Caxton Hall, Monday, June 17, 7.30 p.m., 2s. 6d. London Natural Health Society.

**INTERNATIONAL MEETING OF YOUTH.** There will be 70 participants from 15 nations at The Grammar School in Pembroke during the fortnight July 19 to August 3. A varied programme of discussions, lectures and out-door activities. Total cost—£7. Applications should be sent to The Honorary Secretary, Pembroke Dock International Friendship Society, 45 Dimond St. East, Pembroke Dock.

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### EDUCATION

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**WISBECH:** 7.30 p.m.; Baptist Church Hall. Film: "Shadow of Hiroshima." West Norfolk Committee for Nuclear Weapons Information.

**Wednesday, June 26**  
**BARKING:** 8 p.m.; Friends Meeting House. Film: "Shadow of Hiroshima." Speaker: Prof. G. O. Jones, SoF, FoR, Liberal Party.

**Thursday, June 27**  
**LEYTONSTONE:** 8 p.m. Friends Meeting House. Bush Road (near Green Man). Group Discussion. E.10 and E.11 PPU Group.

**Friday, June 28**  
**RUGBY:** 7.30 p.m.; Brotherhood House. Public Meeting: "A Realistic Defence Policy." Speakers: Sybil Morrison, Victor Yates, MP. Chairman: Councilor W. A. Manning, JP, PPU.

**Saturday, June 29**  
**SOUTHPORT:** 10 a.m. to 5 p.m.; FoR North-West Conference, Max Parker. Details from W. Harrison, Ingledene, Much Hoole, Preston.

**Sunday, June 30**  
**LEYTONSTONE:** 3 p.m.; Friends House. Bush Road, E.11. Annual Garden Meeting. Eileen Fletcher on "Kenya." Tea 5 p.m. Concert. Contributions to refreshments welcomed. E.10/E.11 PPU.

## Every week!

### SATURDAYS

**LIVERPOOL:** 8 p.m.; Pier Head. Open-air meeting of Liverpool and District Peace Board.

### SUNDAYS

**HYDE PARK:** 6.30 p.m.; Pacifist Youth Action Group. Every Sunday. PYAG.

**GLASGOW:** 8 p.m.; at Queen's Park Gates. PPU Meeting. Open-air.

### SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS

**LONDON:** Weekend Workcamps, cleaning and redecorating the homes of old-age pensioners. IVSP, 72 Oakley Sq., London, N.W.1.

### MONDAYS

**SHIPLEY:** 7.15 p.m.; Shipley Group in new premises in Labour Party Rooms, Westgate, Shipley.

### TUESDAYS

**MANCHESTER:** 1-2 p.m.; Deansgate Bliz Site. Christian pacifist open-air mtg. Local Methodist ministers and others. MPF.

### WEDNESDAYS

**KIDBROOKE:** 8 p.m.; 141 Woolacombe Rd. Talks, plays, discussion, music, radio, etc. Fellowship Party.

### THURSDAYS

**GLASGOW:** 8 p.m.; Corner of Blythswood Street and Sauchiehall Street. Open-air Meeting. Glasgow H-bomb Committee.

**LEYTONSTONE:** 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Road. E.10 and E.11 Group. PPU.

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. PYAG.

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 1.20-1.40 p.m.; Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen Sq., Southampton Row. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by Clergy and laymen of different denominations.

army?

"Because of my conscience. I am not willing to kill with weapons in my hand . . . not willing to kill another person."

He was, of course, against other people fighting as well. "The best thing would be to be neutral."

During the war Heinz' family lived in a hospital for soldiers. (His father was a pacifist.)

"I have seen with my own eyes how people have come back from the war."

He was willing to do alternative work in place of military duty. (Recognised objectors must do 21 months alternative work to the conscript's 12 months military duty.) Heinz would prefer to do work connected with his occupation, or to work on the land. He was "not willing to work in factories producing munitions." The Red Cross was a possibility but he did not want to do ambulance work just to "help them start fighting again."

## Being without weapons

Heinz had not talked with other war resisters until last October.

He had since discussed his opinions with people at work. "They agreed," he said. joined IdK last October, although he had "If all people refused to go into the army, it would be a contribution to peace." He joined IdK last October, although he had held his views since 1944-45. "I have seen them coming back," he said again.

Were there other ways to defend freedom? "By negotiation, being neutral," he replied.

"But what if an army invaded Germany?" I asked. "If people did not take weapons, there would be no war," he replied, "for there is no defence with weapons." Being without weapons "causes no killing."

## Personal violence

He had reached his decision for himself and thought that others must reach the same position also for themselves.

Did he also reject personal violence? "It depends," he replied. If he did use it, it would not be premeditated. He might "if it just comes out of myself" without thinking about it.

Although recognising a relationship, Heinz saw war as something different from personal violence. He could have no part in it, and would take the same position if they put him in prison for five years.

some time the newspapers said we must go to be soldiers." Thomas asked to be registered as a conscientious objector last November.

## Alternative work

He only reported for his physical examination after threats by the chairman of the commission. He too was waiting to appear before the commission asking for exemption as a war resister.

He would do some alternative work, but not just anything he might be asked to do.

"If it did come to war and I were in the army I would have to fight against brothers in East Germany," he told me. But he was, "of course, not willing to use arms" in other wars as well.

He was willing to fight with fists in certain cases, but this was different from war.

He did not think there was danger of aggression. It "would be best if all people in the world" would also refuse military service.

Were there non-violent methods of resisting? "Yes, but I cannot say what kinds of things."

Like Heinz he had not done any reading on pacifism. His had been a personal decision, and he thought many others were facing a similar one.

Since I left Hamburg both Heinz and Thomas were granted conscientious objector status by the commission.

## Examination Committee

Also while there I met a member of one of the commissions for conscientious objectors.

He was Dr. Martin Meier-Siem, former Chairman of the Hamburg group of IdK. He is also highly respected for his work for orphans, and as a radiologist is one of the leading members of the medical association in Hamburg.

There are three members of the examination committee. Two are elected by the district parliament. (Each district has such a commission.) One is appointed by the Government.

The first time Dr. Meier-Siem sat as a member of the commission was only a few days before I met him at his medical office.

Two boys had appeared before them that day. The examination was led by Dr. Biermann who was appointed by the Ministry of Defence, but was without a vote on the commission. Dr. Biermann was "kind in manners and tries to understand the opinion of others."

● ON BACK PAGE

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By Sybil Morrison

## What shall it profit a man . . . ?

*"I cannot see any moral difference between 50,000 people being killed by one man with one bomb, and 50,000 people being killed by 50,000 men with 50,000 bullets. One method is as damnable as the other. . . . The only alternative is pacifism. But, however much I wish I could, I just can't accept the pacifist position, because I can't with any shred of consistency accept the privileges, benefits and protection which I claim from my country if I will not accept the obligations which I owe it."*

—Canon R. H. Hawking, Vicar of St. Mary's, Nottingham. Whitsuntide, 1957.

**T**HERE are, no doubt, a majority of people who are prepared to argue that if faced with two evils it is better to choose the lesser, regardless, apparently, of the fact that by so doing they are denying the existence of good.

This, however, is the attitude and the argument of politicians and statesmen of all political parties and religious denominations, in regard to the use of the method of war, whether it be with so-called conventional weapons, or with nuclear weapons which may destroy the whole world.

But, for a minister of the Christian Church to condemn the method of war in forthright terms, to declare that whether it be between men on a battlefield, or between nuclear bombs and utterly helpless civilians, it is equally "damnable," and yet condone it on the grounds of "consistency," is not only exceedingly astonishing, but extremely deplorable.

★

Canon Hawking is evidently under the impression that the privileges and benefits and so-called protection he receives from the State are dependent upon this country having the means to slaughter 50,000 people, or to blow the world to pieces.

He cannot be a pacifist because it would be inconsistent to accept the privileges of citizenship and not accept the obligation to destroy the human race if necessary.

If, however, the obligations of citizenship should clash with the obligations of conscience, it seems odd that a minister of the Christian Church, using such a strong word as "damnable," should plump for consistency rather than for conscience.

His obligation to the State, it would seem, has come to seem more important to him than the teachings of the founder of his Church.

It may be possible to argue that an action is "damnable" and yet condone it, but it can scarcely be called "consistent," let alone moral.

could be clearer, nothing could be more certain.

The freedom the citizens of this country possess, to worship, speak, vote and live is by no means unimportant, but two world wars have impaired it, not secured it. Witch-hunting, telephone-tapping, imprisonment without trial during the war—and in our colonies now, rations, identity cards, passports and visas, conscription and the threat of annihilation are the results of war; none of them spell benefits, privilege, or security.

In this country, the Minister for Defence has told us that there is no protection against an attack with nuclear weapons. There will, therefore, by the same token, be no protection for those against whom we might use these means. If our benefits and privileges can be bought only at the cost of slaughtering our fellows it is surely time to pause.

Benefits, privileges and protection are not what Jesus sought, nor can they ever be secured by "damnable" means. If the choice is consistency or conscience, it is to be hoped that conscience will win.

For what shall it profit a man if he retain his citizen's privileges and lose his own soul?

## GERMAN COS ● FROM PAGE 7

The first boy was asked "Do you believe that there is a possibility of fighting Communism with another way than arms?"

"I don't know," he replied. He then went on to say that "if I want friendship I must give the hand first. If I rear this friendship is not sincere friendship."

The second boy wore a modern jacket, yellow scarf, looked strong and had a moustache. He was a jazz fan.

Dr. Meier-Siem declared that he was "astonished to hear what that young man thought."

The boy had been attending a school for those with subnormal intelligence, and because of this he would only be called

# HENRY USBORNE MP

★ FROM  
PAGE FIVE

First, by a unilateral act of national self-denial, a British Parliament should forswear the use and manufacture of atomic weapons.

Then, with such nations as France, Germany, Pakistan, Ceylon, and as many others as possible, she must propose, create, and join a non-nuclear federation of nations. All the nations joining and forming part of it would submit to a federal law which would require the reduction of their national forces to a level required for internal police purposes only. All their other armed forces would have to be turned over to the federal authority and out of the aggregate a single non-nuclear Federal Defence Force would be fashioned, the remainder being gradually demobilised.

The problem of defence and foreign policy would thus be taken out of the hands of national governments and become the prerogative of the Federal Parliament. Such a federation would be open from the start to accession by every nation, in the hope and expectation that all the others—and at last Russia and America—would feel able to join, and it would thus create a World Government.

## COMPARISON

Let me now compare the NVR and federalist alternatives: either would be so much better than the traditional White Paper policy that I need say no more about that.

Non-violent resistance evidently presupposes the continued existence of the sovereign State. If adopted it would be a national policy made by a national parliament, and would not require the creation of any federal institution or method of supranational law enforcement.

Thus a decision to adopt NVR could clearly as easily be changed back as it was changed forth. One remembers sadly that non-violence under Gandhi quickly gave way to a formidable Indian army under Nehru.

## LAW BREAKING

If there is anything in the Foreign Secretary's view that Britain's retention of massive nuclear armed force alone prevents our island being conquered by Russia, then it must be admitted that non-violent resistance may have to be used to prove our contention that it is unconquerable.

Now, NVR, like the resistance movement in France during the German occupation, involves law-breaking—but with this differ-

we were certain that in due time the local NVR movements would overthrow the Communist regimes? For it is of the essence of passive resistance that it cannot intervene in another country's affairs.

I have a feeling that, even if we had all known in 1939 what we know now about the power of passive resistance, we still could not have sat and watched the Nazis gas the Jews while we waited patiently for German satyagrahis to overthrow Hitler. And I say that as a pacifist.

## IRRESPONSIBLES

Because NVR is a form of anarchy, involving the technique of law-breaking, it risks putting political leadership in the hands of the irresponsible; for too often they can afford to take risks and be put in gaol just because they have so little to lose.

Nor could NVR be relied on as a political instrument unless it does devolve political power extensively and in precisely this direction.

It is no accident that the Communists form the biggest political party in France. I wonder therefore how many anarchists and embittered fellow-travellers, alongside the genuine and devoted Christian pacifists, would crowd into the leadership of a British NVR force? Can we ignore the possibility that there might be a great many?

Now let us have a critical look at the federalist proposal.

## UNREALISTIC

If it were adopted, it would mean that Britain would not have an army or a foreign policy any more than does Devon or Cornwall today. Ultimately, if all nations followed our example, there would be no need for, or purpose in, any national army at all. In this the pacifists and the federalists go hand in hand. Moreover, in both cases Britain is required to forswear the use and manufacture of nuclear weapons.

It would seem therefore that if political and public opinion could be persuaded to support a policy of NVR it could as easily be brought to support the federalists' proposal, for both policies are at present of the same order of political "unreality."

The federalist, however, argues that Britain should seek to abrogate its national sovereignty so that a supranational federal parliament shall exist and shall make



He cannot be a pacifist because it would be inconsistent to accept the privileges of citizenship and not accept the obligation to destroy the human race if necessary.

If, however, the obligations of citizenship should clash with the obligations of conscience, it seems odd that a minister of the Christian Church, using such a strong word as "damnable," should plump for consistency rather than for conscience.

His obligation to the State, it would seem, has come to seem more important to him than the teachings of the founder of his Church.

It may be possible to argue that an action is "damnable" and yet condone it, but it can scarcely be called "consistent," let alone moral.

Long ago Jesus, whom no doubt Canon Hawking believes to be God, stated in no uncertain terms that a strong man armed might keep his house and his goods in peace for a time, but that if he depended upon that method and a stronger than he should come against him, he might lose, not only his possessions and privileges, but even the armour in which he had, mistakenly and foolishly, put his trust.

In that eleventh chapter of St. Luke's Gospel, Jesus states unequivocally that the Devil cannot be cast out by the Devil, that evil can never be defeated by evil. Nothing

## GERMAN COS

FROM  
PAGE 7

The first boy was asked "Do you believe that there is a possibility of fighting Communism with another way than arms?"

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The second boy wore a modern jacket, yellow scarf, looked strong and had a moustache. He was a jazz fan.

Dr. Meier-Siem declared that he was "astonished to hear what that young man thought."

The boy had been attending a school for those with subnormal intelligence, and because of this he would only be called for military duty if a war actually broke out.

If he asked for a CO classification he would have to work for 21 months, but if he did not he probably would never have to do anything with the military service. He insisted that he be considered.

"His whole personality was against war," declared Dr. Meier-Siem. "Such simplicity was so astonishing for us, for all his unintelligence, we said that if such a man comes to the military service his soul would be broken."

Both men received exemptions.

Thus a decision to adopt NVR could clearly as easily be changed back as it was changed forth. One remembers sadly that non-violence under Gandhi quickly gave way to a formidable Indian army under Nehru.

## LAW BREAKING

If there is anything in the Foreign Secretary's view that Britain's retention of massive nuclear armed force alone prevents our island being conquered by Russia, then it must be admitted that non-violent resistance may have to be used to prove our contention that it is unconquerable.

Now, NVR, like the resistance movement in France during the German occupation, involves law-breaking—but with this difference: that it is done without bloodshed or hatred, and, as Gandhi knew so well, it is an extremely difficult policy to sustain. In any event it must encourage a faith in civil disobedience. Moreover, a country which has once practised civil disobedience is thereafter less easily governed democratically.

We are therefore confronted with this dilemma: dare we endanger democracy and risk destroying that inbred respect for political institutions which Britain (with so few other nations, fortunate enough to have avoided invasion and dictatorship in this century) now precariously exemplifies?

A curious disadvantage of passive resistance stems from the fact that it is so effective; it can be used not only to frustrate the will of an alien invader and his quisling henchmen but also by any determined political minority objecting to its own government.

In other words, organised satyagraha and democratic government may be mutually exclusive institutions.

If Mr. Macmillan's Government were to adopt NVR in place of its present nuclear policy, I am sure it would succeed as a defence mechanism. Partly this is because I do not believe Russia contemplates invading this island or trying to communise Britain by force.

But if we did adopt NVR here, what would be the effect on, say, Germany, Italy, France? In the long run local national NVRs in those countries would probably break the heart of an invader or of any unpopular Communist dictatorship—and to that extent our example might help.

But what of the short run? Could Britons stand by and maintain a policy of NVR if we had to watch Europe fall into the hands of the Communists—even though

of nations followed our example, there would be no need for, or purpose in, any national army at all. In this the pacifists and the federalists go hand in hand. Moreover, in both cases Britain is required to forswear the use and manufacture of nuclear weapons.

It would seem therefore that if political and public opinion could be persuaded to support a policy of NVR it could as easily be brought to support the federalists' proposal, for both policies are at present of the same order of political "unreality."

The federalist, however, argues that Britain should seek to abrogate its national sovereignty so that a supranational federal parliament shall exist and shall make enforceable laws for national disarmament. In this the federalist seeks to extend the application of law and enlarge the area of government, whereas NVR enshrines exactly the opposite philosophy.

## DECENTRALISATION

We suffer today from too much legislation; and yet along come the federalists apparently proposing to add even more. But what is objectionable is excessive national legislation. One of the main reasons why Parliament at Westminster has to concentrate so much power centrally is that its first function is to provide security for its citizens. Yet no nation, least of all our own, in this supersonic, atomic era can possibly do that.

If national governments did not have to conscript, tax, and control the entire nation in the interests of an unattainable defence policy, they could afford—and would promptly be compelled by public opinion—to devolve a lot of their functions to provincial and parish levels.

Within a federation the integrated defence forces could be so much less than the present aggregate of the separate national ones that the necessary volunteers and the total cost should readily be forthcoming from the constituent parts without the necessity for massive central governmental powers to collect them.

The federal proposal is thus open to the objection that it involves more laws, more parliaments, and more legislators; while the criticism of NVR is that it encourages anarchy. But either is a thousand times better than the present policy of the Government White Paper.

I think, therefore, we should certainly press for a Royal Commission but that it should be free to study and report on all alternatives and not only non-violent resistance.

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# Continuing the discussion on Commander King-Hall's unarmed defence proposal A POSSIBLE ANSWER TO THE DILEMMA OF CHRISTIANS TODAY

By Count Michael de la Bedoyere

A FEW days ago I was present at a Catholic conference during which a priest gave an address. Early in his speech, he invited the audience to consider what Our Lord's attitude to many contemporary habits and phenomena would have been.

Together with sex display, newspaper uncharity, tax-evading and petty dishonesty of employees, he mentioned the H-bomb. I think few could have been in much doubt about Our Lord's reaction to this last expression of modern civilisation.

But after his speech, the speaker answered questions and one member of the audience mentioned that his nephew in Australia kept on asking in his letters about the British attitude to the H-bomb.

"What is yours, Father?" the questioner asked. The speaker, instead of referring back to Christ, gave a semi-political answer in which he explained why he personally thought that the rights of self-defence made it necessary for us to have H-bombs in answer to the Soviet.

I do not want to indict that speaker (who, in fact, is a friend of mine) because I think that the dilemma in which he found himself is typical of many of the very best Christians today.

## Ultimate right

For years I have pondered on this question only to be faced by this dilemma: on the one hand, nothing can justify the use (and therefore the making and possession) of an intrinsically indiscriminate weapon which must recklessly kill perhaps millions of innocent citizens and destroy the basis of ordered civilised living; on the other, every man has an ultimate right to defend himself against a self-avowed anti-God totalitarian tyranny.

I have temporarily found a refuge in the increasing certainty that this country, at least, is not morally justified in making and possessing H-bombs.

In adopting a policy, whose defence can only be it (seems to me) the wish to retain the prestige of being a great Power, Britain has missed the chance of making a great moral gesture before the world. In deliberately renouncing the manufacture and use of the H-bomb, Britain could have given a lead to the whole world.

But to believe and maintain this, can be

also believe in the right to self-defence against materialistic barbarianism.

This is why I am deeply interested in any serious study of the techniques of "non-violent resistance" as a possible answer. I must honestly confess that at first sight I see serious difficulties.

A month or so ago, I had a long conversation with a distinguished visitor from Poland with a fine record of resistance to Nazism for which he paid with months in a concentration-camp.

## Precedents

I asked him why the same sort of underground resistance could not be carried out against the Soviet hold on his country. He said: "The Gestapo were children compared with the Russians and their agents in Poland. It just can't be done."

The point is whether the precedents of "non-violent resistance," successfully achieved, as for example against British rule in India, have not been in conditions where either a moral conscience or stupidity have weakened the power of the overlord.

In other words, can "non-violent resistance" in the long run save a civilised way of life as against absolute ruthlessness combined with fully organised and skilful use of all modern methods of beastliness?

I do not say that the present regime in Russia, after the fall of Stalinism, fulfils these conditions of ruthless power. This again is a question for study.

In other words, I would suggest that the line of "non-violent resistance" really offers some hope today of escaping the terrible dilemma that I have described.

But so long as that dilemma persists, namely the possibility of the destruction of a civilised and Christian-based society by absolute ruthlessness, served by all modern methods of control and tyranny, then I, for one, shall find it hard to reach the conclusion that the possession and possible use of the H-bomb is indefensible for the Christian. I wish I could think otherwise.

# BUT IS NON-VIOLENCE THE ONLY ANSWER?

asks Henry Osborne, MP

THE suggestion that a Royal Commission should be set up to study the possibilities of non-violent resistance is a good one. The fact that so many responsible people like Commander King-Hall are thinking on these lines is, as Barbara Wootton said, of great significance; it cannot be long before some new proposal is adopted in place of the traditional and now obviously bankrupt policy of the White Paper.

But what is the new system to be? Is non-violent resistance the answer? If not, is there an alternative? These are questions we should try to answer. I think there are, broadly speaking, three forms of defence policy from which we could make a choice—not two only.

There is, first, the conventional one, where a sovereign State arms itself as heavily as it can afford and makes alliances with some nations in an effort to secure its own independence and self-interest against another nation or group of nations it regards as hostile. This old tribal policy is presented today in its newest look in the

latest Government White Paper.

Then there is non-violent resistance, better known to Asians as satyagraha, the potentialities of which have, in recent years, impressed Commander King-Hall and many other observers.

There is a third alternative, the federalists', which I think deserves close examination. Let me briefly describe what this idea is, so that I may compare its merits with those of NVR.

The federalists argue that peace is a by-product of government, that it flows from the institutions of law, order, and justice, and that so long as States are sovereign and have the legal right and military power to contract out of "law" then anarchy, another name for war, prevails. They therefore propose that Britain should take a lead in a general advance towards a governed world in the following manner.

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## OUR CONTRIBUTORS

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HENRY USBORNE, MP (Labour), has represented Yardley Division of Birmingham since 1950, and has been in the House of Commons since 1945. He is a founder and Hon. Sec. of the Parliamentary Group for World Government. Born in 1909, he was educated at Bradfield College and Corpus Christi, Cambridge. He is Chairman of Nu-Way Heating Plants Ltd., Droitwich. Mr. Osborne is a member of the Parliamentary Committee of the Association of Supervisory Staffs, Executives, and Technicians.



Portrait study by Bassano  
Henry C. Osborne, MP